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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matairipi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made [186] frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was [123] taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually, however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct.

Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although, as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request was refused.

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the older Trumaí. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure specimens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same possessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general concepts of property. Even little Katsits cried when her father wanted to put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the necklace and sought other objects to exchange.

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected.

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly.

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tawasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumaí to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them.

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the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumai youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.